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AUTHOR Hopkins, P. G. H.
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ABSTRACT

Workers' education (WE) is that sector of adult education which caters to adults in their capacity as workers, and especially as members of workers' organizations. With regard to WE, the usual problems of collecting education are compounded for the following reasons: it has marginal status in the national educational systems; it is delivered by many different providing bodies (for most of which, it is marginal); it is not a recognized subject category in most libraries and educational bibliographies; it is marginal for most worker-students, the lack of standardized professional terminology regarding WE leads to extravagant nomenclature and confusion; and the recent worldwide explosion of WE activities makes collecting and selecting materials even more difficult. Evaluation of WE's materials and activities is difficult because: (1) its "affective outcomes" greatly outweigh any cognitive results and usually defy quantification and (2) its ultimate objectives are seldom explicit and their related ideological stances greatly influence reception and interpretation of its materials. Despite these restrictions, WE has resulted in positive changes in workers' lives and will continue to have a great potential in the future. (MN)

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Difficulties Involved in (Researching and) Writing about Workers' Education

P.G.H. Hopkins

July 1986

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SUMMARY OF HOPKINS' PAPER ON "WORKERS' EDUCATION"

SECTION 1

Problems of definition and demarcation of workers' education within the overall category of adult education. Its "group approach" is workers' education's distinguishing feature.

SECTION 11

With workers' education, the usual problems of collecting educational materials, are compounded because:

(a) W.E. is marginal vis-a-vis national educational systems.

(b) There are many providing bodies, for most of which W.E. is marginal.

(c) W.E. is not a recognized "subject-category" in most libraries and educational bibliographies.

(d) It is marginal for most worker-students.

(e) The lack of standardised professional terminology leads to extravagant nomenclature and confusion.

(f) The recent world-wide explosion of W.E. activities makes collection and selection of materials harder.

SECTION 111

Evaluation of W.E.'s materials and activities is difficult because:

(i) "Affective outcomes" greatly outweigh any cognitive results, and they usually defy quantification.

(ii) Ultimate objectives are seldom explicit, yet they and their related ideological stances greatly influence reception and interpretation of materials.

SECTION IV

These ultimate objectives may be one or several of:- Individual development; Improved Workers' Organisations; Improved socio-economic contributions; Change in Society; Stability in Society.

Recent ("neo-Gramscian") educational theorising has over-emphasised the last motivation, undervaluing workers' education as an agent of change. This should be refuted.

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Difficulties involved in (researching and) writing about workers' education

P.G.H. Hopkins - U.K.

My working definition: Workers' education is that sector of adult education which caters for adults in their capacity as workers, and especially as members of workers' organisations.

SECTION 1. Introduction: Difficulties of Definition

(a) The brackets which I have inserted in the title above are a warning that my paper will not address itself evenly to the full subject of this morning's session. This is because I lay no claims to having undertaken academic research into workers' education. Nor am I an educational sociologist, although I shall be commenting later on some recent trends in that field. I am really only a retired practical adult educator and an enthusiast for workers' education.
I shall therefore leave the research aspects to my two colleagues Lars Arvidson and Mickey Hellyer, both of whom have experience in these matters. For myself, I should like to share with the conference some of the problems which confronted me when I tried recently to describe and assess workers' education in a comparative way on an international basis. Most of these problems will relate peculiarly to workers' education, but some will certainly be common to much that is written about adult education and indeed about education in general.

(b) In the first place, any study of "education" is bedevilled by the complex meanings of the word itself, since "education" can refer not only to a concept but also to the institutional and administrative structures and programmes designed to translate the concept into a reality. Furthermore neither the goals nor the processes are universal and static: they vary from place to place and from time to time, making complete nonsense of such phrases as "the British or American or African view" of adult (or workers') education.(1)

(c) Out of this complexity have arisen the attempted distinctions in many adult education circles between liberal studies and technical and formal education, between education for leisure and education for work or between education and training. Such differentiations, often reflected in national administrative arrangements, have held back the growth of continuing education in many countries and have certainly made it hard to reach generally accepted definitions within adult education - and especially within workers' education, which raises the extra complication of defining "workers". This difficulty was illustrated exactly 150 years ago when the London Working Men's Association drafted its Constitution. In its Object 8, it skilfully dodged the issue by saying: "..As there are great differences of opinion as to where the line should be drawn which separates the working classes from the other portions of society, they leave to the Members themselves to determine whether the candidate proposed is eligible".(2)
William Lovett and his worker-colleagues in the LWMA were more interested in achieving opportunities for adults within a national system of public education than

in general semantic niceties. and basically the same broad approach was taken by the world's first Workers' Educational Association in 1903, when Albert Mansbridge and his colleagues were ready to embrace all adults who wished to study under its auspices.[3] This attitude is still implicit in the 1980 International Charter of Workers' Education, in which the IFWEA refers to its member-organisations accepting "a national responsibility .. for the advancement of adult and workers' education", while having "a particular concern for the education of workers as well as immigrants".[4]

(d) In contrast to this tendency to use the terms "adult education" and "workers' education" almost interchangeably, some writers have asserted that they are two separate entities. For example, in 1931 in the first global account of workers' education Marius Hansome spent ten pages of his first chapter stressing their existence as two separate movements, with workers' education having as its ultimate and distinctive goal the achievement of a classless society.[5] Personally I see no justification at all for specifying this objective as a necessary condition of workers' education: to me it is one of several possible aims for both workers' and other forms of adult education. Similarly, while I definitely agree with Hansome's American contemporary Arthur Gleason when he said "Workers' (or labour) education falls inside the classification of Adult Education; but it is its own kind of education", I cannot accept his distinguishing features. He goes on: ".. Workers' education cannot be imposed from above or without .. It is a training for the science of reconstruction .. Controlled by public authorities, by universities, by middle-class persons, it is adult education. It is education. It is good. It is useful. But it is not workers' education".[6] Here the stress is too much on the providing (or controlling) body and again on objectives. Like Hansome, Gleason is really describing the type of workers' education he approves of.

(e) Against this, let us consider the working definition given at the start of this paper. Surely the qualifying word "workers'" focusses attention upon the receivers of the education: it does not specify the providing/controlling organisations and/or their underlying ideology and objectives. That is why I much prefer the explanation of Mark Starr, another contemporary of Hansome. In a 1951 article (which incidentally contained a sub-section headed "Education co-terminal with life" - a phrase prophetic of modern pre-occupations with life-long education), Starr wrote: "It is this emphasis upon group problems with a view to group action for their solution which marks off workers' education from other sections of adult education .. Hobbies, the natural sciences, music and the arts are not excluded from workers' education, but primary importance is given to the person in his group activity .. How can he become a better member of his union and community by co-operating .. in collective action?"[7] This statement accords completely with our working definition. It is the group approach to study which is the key factor, as is indeed indicated by the use of the plural noun, "workers". So workers' education may be arranged with

varied objectives by a trade union (or other workers' organisation), a voluntary body (like a WEA), a university, a government college or even a government department; the tutor may be a radical, a reformer or a reactionary; the subject may be economics, literature or union skills - but provided the students are approached in their capacity as workers, then it is workers' education. If they are addressed as isolated individual targets, then it is adult (but not workers') education.

(f) These seem now to be the views of both the International Labour Organisation and UNESCO. In 1979 the then Chief of the ILO workers' Education Branch asserted: "These differences (between labour education and general adult education) may be found in aims and activities of a collective nature, using collective approaches and techniques".(8) In the same year, the official UNESCO "Terminology of Adult Education" defined Workers' Education as "the systematic development in working-class adults of the knowledge, attitudes and skills to enable them efficiently to fulfil the social roles they are called upon to play, particularly in trade unions".(9) To me this is an admirable definition, provided it is remembered that there are many other important workers' organisations as well as trade unions. In the past, much vigorous workers' education was done in such bodies as the British Mutual Improvement Societies and early Co-operatives, the Female Reform Association (in New England in the 1830's), the arbeitersbildungvereine of Western Europe in the 1840's and so on. In recent years, rural workers' organisations have been increasingly active in workers' education, reaching a vast new clientele, especially in Third World countries; but while these provide the students, much outside aid often comes from international trade union bodies and from national governments.(10)

(g) This expanding range of workers' organisations who provide the students combines with the increasing number of bodies now helping to provide their education to complicate further the problems of writing about workers' education on a national, let alone an international, scale.(11)

Let us now look at these problems in more detail under three headings in:

II. Problems of collecting material

III. Problems of evaluating material

IV. Problems of presentation and reception of material: ideological stances.

SECTION II. Problems of Collecting Material

(a) Clearly the demarcation difficulties already described make it hard to decide which programmes are to be studied. For example, should one copy, say, the broad approach of Derek Legge in Chapter 4 of his "Education of Adults in Britain" and include all "work-related studies"?(12) Or should one exclude all technical and vocational studies which are limited to improving individual productive skills? Should one exclude both governmental campaigns for greater productivity and revolutionary political agitation? How much "collective orientation" is needed before cultural or scientific studies can be included? Decisions like these are not easy and the boundaries of the field of studies will often be blurred.(13) Even so, there will

be in most countries a large central core of adult educational work catering for its students as "workers and as members of workers' organisations". In the short time available to the conference we should focus our attention on this central core rather than on fringe arguments.

(b) Nevertheless it must be recognised that what seems to us to be "the central core" is often itself very marginal in objective terms. As the then Chief of the ILO Workers' Education Branch wrote in a special International Education Year article in 1970: "If adult education has been historically the step-child of the general education system, workers' education is still the outcast who has not yet crossed the threshold. In some cases, its very existence is not recognised by professional educators. Development planners, including education planners, seldom take workers' education into consideration and even more rarely include it in their plans".(14) One corollary of this general exclusion of workers' education from national education plans is that there are no central sources of information and statistics of the type available for normal school and college (and even supported adult education) students and courses. Instead one must apply to the various providers of workers' education. As already indicated, these providing bodies can be numerous; and moreover, for most of them, their workers' education activities are considered marginal. This is certainly true of Co-operatives, universities, those international bodies who assist workers' education (like ILO, UNESCO, ICFTU, etc.) and it is also regrettably true of all but a few trade unions. This marginality of workers' education makes it well-nigh impossible to get a complete picture of what is being done. For example, anybody undertaking a study of workers' education in India is fortunate in having excellent sources of information from the one central and four zonal offices of the Central Board for Workers' Education, with its 39 Regional and 15 Sub-regional Centres and their hundreds of full-time graduate education officers and their 67,000 trained part-time worker-teachers.(15) Such a tri-partite central scheme with its standardised curricula and teaching materials makes comparison relatively easy and safe. But if we then widen the scope of the study to cover <u>all</u> workers' education in India, we enter a chaotic world of, for example, over 23,000 registered unions, only some of which are affiliated to the ten national trade union federations and very few of which possess any full-time education staff.

(c) This marginality of workers' education is also encountered by the writer or researcher when he seeks information from libraries. In the case of the British (Museum) Library, quite apart from the routine practical problems wittily described recently by Alison Lurie(16), the catalogues give virtually no help at all. "Workers' education" does not feature as a subject-heading either in the large pre-1975 catalogues or in the Current (post-1975) micro-fiche Subjects Index, although the latter does contain four WEA references. The fuller Current micro-fiche Names and Titles Index does contain three (!) items under "Workers' Education" and one under "Labour Education", plus seventy-five under "Workers' Educational Association" (most

of which would have been better classified under "Adult Education"). This absence of "Workers' Education" applies to most library catalogues, excepting such specialised cases as the ILO and the International Bureau of Education at Geneva. The same is true of most bibliographies. For example, there is no subject-heading for Workers' Education in the NIACE's "Select Bibliography of Adult Continuing Education in Great Britain"[17] which claims in its foreword "to be indispensable for those who wish to discover, easily and quickly, the academic background to any particular area of activity in adult education". It has index-entries for "Industrial Education" and "Immigrant Adult Education", twenty-one entries under "WEA" and forty-nine under "Trade Union Education" - but apparently Workers' Education was not considered an identifiable category.

(d) Given these problems, one is driven to the "primary sources" - to the providing bodies (already shown to be difficult) and to the worker-students themselves. But if workers' education is marginal to most providing bodies, so it is to most of the students. True a few may see it as "a universal instrument for advancing the dignity of man and for gladdening his existence".[18] A few others may have their life-patterns changed as a result of a long course of one or more years at such colleges as the Frankfurt Academy of Labour, the N.M. Shvernik Higher School in Moscow, Kauniainen Workers' Academy in Finland or Ruskin College here in Oxford. But for most worker-students, their classes will last only a few days or weeks at the most - fleeting marginal incidents in their working-lives. Little wonder then that attempts at "consumer-research" using questionnaires to ex-students are fraught with problems. They rarely achieve high response-rates, though even poorer results may come from enquiries to union branches and other providing bodies.[19]

(e) In general, therefore, information about workers' education is hard to come by, scattered and incomplete because of its marginality to public education systems, to the main providing bodies and to the recipients themselves. Unlike other educational sectors, there are few full-time professional administrators and there is often much confusion of terminology which adds to the problems of fact-finding. To a few providers of workers' education "a long course" suggests at least one academic year, whereas to most it would suggest a seminar of ten days. Indeed such terms as "college" and "university" are used very loosely by worker-education providers in many countries. One reads of the Workers' University in Cleveland, Ohio, with its programme of "four six-week courses in the local office of the ILGWU, in English, gymnastics, piano and History of the Labour Movement".[20].

Sometimes governments are responsible for extravagant nomenclature, as in Yugo-slavia where 173 so-called "Workers' Universities" were set up in the 1950's, all running basic part-time courses;[21] or in China during the Cultural Revolution when "by a stroke of the pen all "factory part-time schools" became "July 21st Workers' Universities".[22] Even bona-fide universities sometimes seem to make extravagant

claims for their workers' education, as when one reads of a Research Department of a French University Institute of Labour Social Sciences which "provides a high level university education to trade union activists", only to find that "sessions lasting longer than two weeks are rare"![23]

As we have already indicated, many long-term and well-planned programmes of workers' education do exist but all claims need to be investigated carefully.

(f) Finally, in addition to such pitfalls of terminology, the collection of workers' education materials is complicated by its rapid expansion over the last decade or so. As criticism of and disillusion with formal education has sharpened[24], there has been an increasing stress on adult education as a "sub-division and an integral part of a global scheme for life-long education and learning".[25] In this whole sphere of informal adult education, workers' education has special claims for increased attention. It reaches the less-educated sectors of the population, especially with its recent stresses on rural, women and migrant workers; it is vital for any programmes of workers' participation or industrial democracy as well as for obtaining the co-operation of the work-force in greater productivity[26]; and its cultural and recreational components can promote the creative use of leisure in this period of great unemployment, early retirement and shorter working-weeks.[27] Furthermore, ILO Convention 140 and Recommendation 148 on Paid EducationalLeave have called upon member-states to "promote .. the granting of paid educational leave for the purpose of (a) training at any level; (b) general social and civic education; (c) trade union education", with finances coming from "employers (collectively and individually), public authorities and educational and training institutions or bodies, and employees' and workers' organisations".[28]

It is true that so far only seventeen countries have ratified this ILO Convention, but a lead has been set and government aid to workers' education is now given in many countries.[29] Much more international aid is available[30] and many more workers' organisations are taking education seriously. I am, of course, fully in favour of this boom, but here would merely underline the increasing difficulty of keeping up-to-date in the collection of materials about workers' education.

SECTION III. Problems of Evaluating Materials

(a) In general, then, workers' education is expanding despite a relative shortage of resources. Such a situation puts a premium on comparative evaluation. This is notoriously hard in formal education, but infinitely harder in workers' education with its wide variety of informal studies.[31] In the few programmes focussed on definite items of knowledge or simple skills, quantified assessment may be feasible; but as the knowledge or skills become more complex, testing even these cognitive aspects becomes harder.

(b) When, as with practically all workers' education, affective consequences need to be assessed, the task becomes virtually impossible. How can one satisfactorily set numerical values in such matters as personal fulfilment, commitment to further study,

attitudes to work and society, and capacity and willingness to represent fellow-workers?

With such affective assessments, it is not only hard (or impossible) to quantify changes, but particularly difficult to segregate educational from other factors (political, social and economic) operative on the students. These difficulties invalidate most of the assorted criteria which have been used to evaluate workers' education programmes - for example, their effects on productivity, on incidence of strikes or absenteeism, their subsequent earnings, job mobility, on assumption of union or civic responsilities, etc. In fact, it is usually wiser to resort to a series of subjective qualitative judgement, rather than to allow the fashionable demand for statistical evidence to put undue emphasis on the few (doubtfully) quantifiable aspects involved.(32)

(c) In this respect, the Canadian experience is revealing. The government grant in 1977 of $2 million per annum to unions for education was preceded by a nationwide evaluative survey, using a battery of questionnaires, report forms, programme evaluations, structured interviews, etc. supervised by two Professors of Adult Education.(33) Five years and $10 million later, the Canadian Department of Labour contented itself with a 16-page evaluation couched in such general terms as "an increasingly large number of union members and leaders participate in .. educational activities" and "this in turn has contributed to a more effective representation of the membership by their leaders and to a more active participation on their part in the union's role in socio-economic affairs".(34)

(d) Furthermore, what are crucial and yet ignored in most evaluations (and have so far been skirted round in this paper) are the ultimate objectives of and implicit assumptions about workers' education. These are the heart of our last theme - of how any writing on workers' education is presented and received.

SECTION IV. Problems of Presentation and Reception: Ideological Stances:

(a) The underlying objectives of workers' education are often complex since different bodies and individuals may involve themselves in workers' education programmes for a mixture of motives; but they may perhaps be simplified as:

i) Individual Development for Its Own Sake - encapsulated in Albert Mansbridge's hope that "In the hours not spent in the mine or factory the workman may follow his own bent, read his books or even write them, exercise himself in music and song and discover the secrets of life".(35)

ii) Improved Efficiency for Workers' Organisations - illustrated for example, by the main thrust of workers' education in the USA from 1930 to about 1960 or by the British TUC approach at present.(36)

iii) Improved Socio-Economic Contributions from Workers' Organisations - as exemplified in most Communist countries and now in many mixed economies, with workers playing an increasing role, not only in health, safety and participatory management schemes, but also in medical clinics and co-operative ventures.(37)

iv) Change and Transformation in Society - the goal set, for example, by Henri de Man for the Belgian Committee for Workers' Education at its foundation in 1911 - "Not to fit workers for their individual struggles for existence, but for the collective struggle for emancipation".

v) Stability and Coherence in Society - on the basis of Adam Smith's advice: "The more they (the labouring poor) are instructed, the less liable they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition, which among ignorant nations, occasion the most dreadful disorders".(38)

(b) Whilst it is true that most workers' education provision has been motivated by a mixture of objectives, the subjective views of any writer describing a programme will clearly influence his selection and interpretation of material and his evaluation of achievements. Given access to the same sources as myself, either a "conservative" or a "revolutionary" writer would have produced a vastly different account of world workers' education from what I have recently written from my viewpoint as a democratic socialist.

Equally the subjective views of any readers and listeners - including mine today - will affect greatly their reception of my subjectively-presented views.

(c) At this point it is tempting to close with the traditional liberal formula of "agreeing to differ". However, the vociferous prevalence of one particular approach to many recent educational debates impels me to probe deeper, in the hope of exposing and reducing its distorting influence.

One group of readers/listeners is likely to dismiss much workers' education (and indeed much adult and general education) because of their particular view of society, their ideological stance. This view, often termed "structuralist", is based on a "conflict model of society" and stems originally from the classical Marxist treatment of education as one aspect of the "super-structure" of society, determined by the economic materialist base and the social relations of production. Only after a revolutionary change in the political/economic basis of society could one expect changes in the super-structure.(39)

In the inter-war years, the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci, with his concept of "cultural hegemony", contributed a new stress by focussing on the vital - but often repressive - role of education in society. He saw ruling groups as using the total institutional apparatus, including the State with its established class-structure, as a means of transmitting their "dominant culture, moral attitudes and rules of behaviour". They consciously use education as one instrument for"legalising their own values", converting their own "partial culture" into the generally accepted culture and suppressing "sub-cultures and counter-cultures".(40)

(d) There is clearly much truth in Gramsci's thesis generally, but especially in monolithic societies. Milovan Djilas has described the post-revolutionary cultural hegemony of Communist states as "the tyranny over the mind" and "the sovereignty

of thought of a single man or group of oligarchs .. Tyranny over the mind is the most complete and most brutal type of tyranny; every other tyranny begins and ends with it".[41] But rather than seizing Djilas' point, some neo-Marxist educational sociologists have used Gramsci as a starting-point for sweeping attacks on education in capitalist and pluralist societies. They have reinforced the swing from the optimism of the 1950's and 1960's, when education was widely seen as an instrument for social change,[42] to the pessimistic view that education is a conservative force and that "the family-school-work triumvirate" transmits inequality inexorably from generation to generation.[43] We have not time here to follow the way in which the rather abstract theories of Bourdieu and Passeron and Althusser (concerned primarily with formal education) were sharpened by Bowles and Gintis to explain the "fixed and inevitable 'correspondence' between the ethos and structure of American education and American institutions of modern capitalism"[44]; and then applied by others to adult and workers' education (which do not even feature in Bowles and Gintis' Chapter 10 on "Educational Alternatives")or even in their lengthy index!

(e) So we find Shapin and Barnes "interpreting Mechanics' Institutes" as designed "to render them (the worker-students) and their class as a whole more docile, less troublesome and more accepting of the emerging structure of industrial society"; and the expanding popular education in 19th century Britain being castigated as containing a"powerful hidden curriculum of value inculcation, political socialisation and training in docility and obedience".[45] More recently the same type of criticism has been made of contemporary British adult education in general[46] and of British TUC education in particular, the latter paradoxically being condemned for its "student-centred approach"![47] As Entwistle has commented: "The notion that school is hegemonic threatens to become one of the slogans which frequently serve as substitutes for detailed consideration of our educational arrangements" .. and "Unfortunately for most of those who call upon his name but who evidently know little of his work, Gramsci's conclusions .. point in quite different directions from those of current neo-Maxist educational theory".[48]

(f) This is true! Like any good Marxist dialectician, Gramsci was aware also of "counter-hegemonic influences" and even detected them in the contemporary Italian elementary schools. "The School combatted folk-lore, indeed every residue of traditional conceptions of the world. It taught that there exist objective intractable natural laws .. and social and state laws which are the product of human activity, which are established by men and can be altered by men in the interests of their collective development".[49] But, above all, as Entwistle demonstrates in Part II of his book, the key to Gramsci's theories "is in the education of adults, especially as workers within an occupational context": the hope of progress "lies squarely in institutions for adult education, especially in those political associations dedicated to social change and in economic associations where workers are engaged in productive relationships which have their own educational imperatives".[50]

Moreover, Gramsci saw value in "traditional, mainstream humanistic culture"[51], specifically applauding the role of the Fabian Society which "succeeded in putting into the service of this work .. a great part of the English intellectual and spiritual liberation".[52]

(g) These positive hopeful aspects are ignored by most so-called neo-Gramscians and their negative stance is perverting much contemporary discussion of education. As Brian Simon has pointed out, they have distorted their guru's real message, completely losing sight of Gramsci's favourable assessment of the role of both school and adult education as possible sources of a "counter-culture".[53] In his lecture "Can Education Change Society?", Simon stressed first the frequent "unintended outcomes of education"; secondly how "establishment education" in 19th Century England stimulated the growth of informal independent networks, promoting many social reforms; and thirdly how (by their concentration on statistical analysis of social mobility, income differentials, etc.) "contemporary theorising and empirical studies ignore human subjective experience, people's capacity for movement, for acting on the environment, transforming it, and so for self-change". Simon himself ends on a positive note: "There is no joy here for the fatalists who claim that all such action is futile. On the contrary, the future is open and undecided; and it is .. of supreme importance that those closely involved in education recognise, and struggle consistently to realise,its potential".[54]

(h) I am completely with Brian Simon and against the prevalent "gloomy prophets" who somehow combine their revolutionary zeal with a conviction that education is a conservative force. I see their ideological stance as a major difficulty for workers' education, in that it is creating an extremely negative climate at a time when otherwise conditions are favourable for a rapid expansion.

I would contend that workers' education can and does develop individuals, improve workers' organisations and their socio-economic contributions and change societies for the better. Practically all workers' education has great potential for good, and even the less good varieties are liable to have beneficial "unintended outcomes".

It is well worth struggling with negative ideological stances and all the other difficulties which workers' education presents to researchers and writers.

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NOTES FOR HOPKINS' PAPER ON "WORKERS EDUCATION"

1. For examples of variations see (a) Hopkins, P.G.H. "Workers' Education: an International Perspective". Open University Press 1985. P.33-36 (England), P.36-39 (USA), P.91-92 (Africa); and (b) Different definitions by three inter-war US worker-educators with similar political views. (This paper Section I(d) and (e)).

2. Lovett, W. "The Life & Struggles of William Lovett in his Pursuit of Bread, Knowledge and Freedom". Trubner, London. 1876. P.93

3. See, for example, Fieldhouse, R. "The Workers' Educational Association: Aims and Achievements 1903-77". Syracuse University Press. N.Y. 1977 Ch.1.

4. IFWEA "International Charter of Workers' Education". Sørmarka Conference 1980. IFWEA, London 1980 P.2.

5. Hansome, M. "World Workers' Educational Movements". Columbia University Press. N.Y. 1931 P.38-47.

6. Gleason, A. "Workers' Education: American and Foreign Experiments". Workers' Education Bureau USA 1921 P.5.

7. Starr, M. "Workers' Education in Relation to Adult Education". Harvard Educational Journal Vol.21 No.4 Cambridge, Mass. P.249-251. (After working in Britain as a tutor-organiser for the National Council of Labour Colleges, Starr migrated to USA becoming Education Director of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union).

8. Whitehouse, J.W. "Labour Education - Developing Concepts and Dimensions". "Labour Education" No.39. 19791/ ILO Geneva.

9. Titmus, C. , Buttedahl, P., Ironside, D. and Lengrand, P. "Terminology of Adult Education". UNESCO Paris 1979.

10. See Hopkins, n.1 above P.13-14, 71-73 and 130-132.

11. Ibid. For expansion of target-groups, see Ch.5; and of providing bodies, see Ch.6-9.

12. Legge, C.D. "The Education of Adults in Britain". Open University Press. Milton Keynes, Ch.4.

13. These issues are explored in Hopkins (n.1 above). Ch.4.

14. Chu, P. "Workers' Education and the International Education Year". Editorial in "Labour Education". ILO, Geneva. No.19 June 1970 P.3. The point was re-iterated in April 1985 by the ILO Committee of Consultants on Workers' Education. See "Labour Education"1985/2. P.22. "Right up to today there is in most countries no real link between adult education and workers' education".

15. See Hopkins (n.1 above) P.116-119; and "Labour Education" ILO, Geneva. 1984/1 P.14-15.

16. Lurie, A. "Foreign Affairs". Abacus Press 1986 P.35 and 132.

17. Thomas, J.E. and Davies, J.H.: "Select Bibliography of Adult Continuing Education in Great Britain to end-1981". NIACE. Leicester 1984. (One noteworthy exception is Dwyer, R. "Labor Education in the U.S.: An Annotated Bibliography". Scarecrow Press London 1977).

18. Lovett, W. "Address on Education, Issued to the Working Classes". 1837. See Lovett, W. n.2 above - P.135-144.

19. See for example the Appendix on Research Procedures in Verner C. & Dickinson G. "Union Education in Cabada". Department of Labour, Ottawa P.207-224.

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